

increasingly, as part of the emerging security and interstate trading network in West and Equatorial Africa" (353).

Le Vine shows the depth of his knowledge of Francophone Africa through his exploration of the critical elements that shape the particular political dynamics of these countries while allowing them to remain part of a unique sociopolitical community. As ambitious as *Politics in Francophone Africa* is in chronicling the fortunes of French-speaking Africa, the book nevertheless contains a few typographical errors, especially in the French translations, and factual errors, such as locating Mugabe in Zambia (291). It also lacks a specific analysis that could have added some spice to the overall interpretation of Francophone politics. One wishes for an in-depth discussion and comparison, within the Francophone tradition, between French direct rule intended to create *assimilés* and the Belgian "scientific colonialism" meant to generate *évolués*.

These criticisms aside, *Politics in Francophone Africa*, especially because of its use of telling anecdotes, remains an excellent book that represents a major contribution to our understanding of the vital historical role France continues to play in making and unmaking "kings" in Africa. Because this book provides a cogent analysis of Francophone Africa's political, economic, and social saga, it should appeal to a wide readership.

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Horace Campbell. *Reclaiming Zimbabwe: The Exhaustion of the Patriarchal Model of Liberation*. Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press/Claremont, South Africa:

David Philip, 2003. vi + 312 pp. Maps. Bibliography. Index. \$29.95. Paper.

Horace Campbell has written an ambitious book that adds a new dimension to the growing number of critical appraisals of the Zimbabwean political economy under the control of a ZANU-PF government since 1980. Drawing on his twenty years of committed scholarly engagement with Zimbabwe, Campbell critically analyzes the economic policies, military ventures, and particularly the conduct of politics of the Mugabe regime through a feminist pan-African lens. In so doing, he has written a book that supplements existing critical scholarship, adding engaging and novel interpretations to the scholarship on the Zimbabwe state and African governments more broadly. Although the book is weak in some spots, on the whole it should be read as a substantive rejoinder to those within and beyond Zimbabwe, particularly in African diasporic communities, who uncritically celebrate the putative victories of "Mugabe" over white colonial and imperialist interests.

The book is divided into five sections that are ordered somewhat chronologically in terms of events covered and dates of original publication. The chapters in the early sections were written in the 1980s and the early 1990s

(although unfortunately the original publication information is not given). These chapters, particularly those from the early 1980s, are slightly dated, as the euphoria of the defeat of the Rhodesian government leads to some noticeable elisions in the analysis, particularly the downplaying of the class and political tensions within ZANU-PF and between it and Joshua Nkomo's ZAPU, and the overtly optimistic appraisal about the democratizing tendencies and desires of the leadership of the ruling party. To his credit, Campbell notes in his introduction that the book is written as a form of "auto-critique" of a generation of pan-Africanists and nationalists who neglected the importance of tackling patriarchy as well as colonialism and capitalism in their analytical and material struggles. Some of these early chapters would have benefited from more critical comments in the introduction or footnotes on how Campbell's own analysis has shifted since originally writing them, as demonstrated by his later chapters. But they do provide insights into important events in Zimbabwe, including the transition to the Mugabe government and the integration of the different guerrilla and Rhodesian forces, and they also serve to remind the reader that Campbell has a long history of committed scholarship on the pan-Africanist movement.

The two chapters in the third section, entitled "Executive Lawlessness and the Politics of Intolerance," form a sustained critique of the conduct of the ZANU-PF government. The basis of the critique lies not only in the examination of the increased violence and enhanced inequities resulting from the government's actions since 1980, as well as since the start of the so-called Third Chimurenga (revolution) of 2000, but also in the demonstration that the government was simply extending European colonial forms of governance and thinking. Campbell lays out an argument for an African ideation system that shaped precolonial land and water uses and property regimes while creating flexible gender relations; this system, he argues, has been undermined and challenged since the late nineteenth century by colonial systems of government and science, international capitalist enterprise, and postcolonial regimes seeking to remain in power. Weaving together specific events in Zimbabwe, examples from other parts of sub-Saharan Africa, and a larger moral and analytical commentary on the differences between what he calls the African and European ideation systems, Campbell examines the land question more broadly as well as homophobia in Zimbabwe and Africa. He argues that the so-called pan-Africanist Mugabe regime is actually enforcing European patriarchal principles in some of its violent actions, which end up impoverishing the majority while benefiting a few. The fourth section presents a series of chapters on the Zimbabwean military and financial involvement in the bloody conflict in the D.R.C., providing details on particular events, battles, and the acquisitive ambitions of African and Western government officials and companies. His concluding section presents a more coherent vision of his critique of the patriarchal nature of the "exhausted" models of liberation and gestures toward a more radical model of transformation.

On the whole, *Reclaiming Zimbabwe* is an important text. It could have been edited more tightly to avoid repetition, and some claims, particularly broad ones concerning continental forms of sociality and culture, could have been better substantiated and supported. Nevertheless, Campbell's insistence on examining the gendered nature of state and society in Zimbabwe and numerous examples of forms of resistance led by different Zimbabwean feminist organizations is a necessary supplement to much of the current scholarship on the country today. As for those who laud "Mugabe" from a pan-Africanist perspective, they must deal with Campbell's well-reasoned call to go beyond the personalities of African leaders and their rhetorical statements and look at their actions, their "politics of retrogression" (a term he borrows from Walter Rodney) which undermine the possibilities of a fuller postcolonial liberation in places like Zimbabwe.

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David Harold-Barry, ed. *Zimbabwe: The Past Is the Future*. Harare: Weaver Press Ltd. 2004. Distributed by African Books Collective Ltd., The Jam Factory, 27 Park End St. Oxford OX1 1HU. xv + 274 pp. Notes. Chronology. \$29.95. Paper.

This impressive volume brings together the views of influential Zimbabwean intellectuals as well as less well-known Zimbabwean voices to offer an important and much needed insiders' assessment of the current crisis. Moving beyond the single causation of President Robert Mugabe, the chapters, all written by different authors, offer reflective and scholarly interpretations of recent events through the lens of the post-Independence period. A common aim is to clarify how the ruling party, the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF), co-opted some elements and violently repressed others of the popular coalition that had been forged against it from the late 1980s. Six chapters are concerned with locating the historical roots of this conflict in the following areas: trade unions and labor (Brian Raftopoulos and Godfrey Kanyenze); liberation war veterans' opposition (The Zimbabwe Liberator's Platform, Duduzile Tafara); and oppositional politics (David Kaulemu, Eldred Masunungure). Eight chapters document and analyze the tragic results of the current crisis in the following areas: the environment and rural livelihoods (Emmanuel Manzungu); land reform and farm workers (Lloyd M. Sachikonye); the courts, democracy, and rule of law (Geoffrey Feltoe, Dieter Sholz); human rights (A. P. Reeler), and within the "religio-cultural landscape" (Paul Gundani).

The editor, David Harold-Barry, a Jesuit with many years experience in Zimbabwe, expresses the frustrations shared by many of the contributors over the return to a closed political debate. The authors here have not given up on the dream of a more inclusive political climate; they are, how-